(*b*) whether there was not in the Bill a provision to give retrospective effect to the Bill;
(*c*) whether the clause in (*b*) was passed by the Council;
(*d*) the day on which the amending Bill was passed by the Council;
(*e*) what has become of this Bill?

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):*
(*a*) 25th March 1944.
(*b*) Yes.
(*c*) No.
(*d*) 29th November 1945.
(*e*) The Bill has been returned to the Council under section 27 (1) of the Government of Cochin Act for reconsideration of clause 3.

POLICE COMMISSIONER—POST OF

89. Choudhury G. S. Dhara Singh *(Mattancheri):* Will Government be pleased to state.—

is it an accepted policy of the Government to import officers for the post of Police Commissioners from outside the State?

Mr. B. V. K. Menon *(Secretary to Government):* The Government have not adopted this policy as a permanent feature of the administration.

SUGAR QUOTA—PARTICULARS OF

90. ചൌധരി ജി. എസ്സ്. ധാരാസിംഗ്: ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെണ്ട് താഴെ പറയുന്ന ചോദ്യങ്ങൾക്കു സദയം മറുപടി പറയുമോ.—

(എ) ഇക്കൊല്ലം അനുവദിച്ചുകിട്ടിയ പഞ്ചസാര കോട്ട എത്രയാണ്;
(ബി) കഴിഞ്ഞകൊല്ലം എത്ര;
(സി) ഇക്കൊല്ലത്തെ അനുവദിച്ച കോട്ടയിൽ പിന്നീട് വല്ല കുറവും വരുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ടോ; ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ എത്ര?

റാവു സാഹിബ് എം. എം. പോൾ:

(എ) ൩,൫൩൦ ടൺ.
(ബി) ൩,൯൦൦ ടൺ. ഇതിനു പുറമെ അതിനു മുമ്പിലത്തെ കൊല്ലത്തെ കോട്ടയിൽനിന്നും ൪൫൦ ടണ്ണോളം ബാക്കിയുണ്ടായിരുന്നതു കഴിഞ്ഞകൊല്ലം ലഭിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. അപ്രകാരം ആകെ ൪,൪൫൦ ടൺ പഞ്ചസാര കഴിഞ്ഞകൊല്ലം വിതരണത്തിനു കിട്ടുകയുണ്ടായി.
(സി) ഇക്കൊല്ലത്തേക്കു ആദ്യം അനുവദിച്ച കോട്ട ൪,൫൦൦ ടൺ ആയിരുന്നു. അതു പിന്നീട് ൩,൫൩൦ ടൺ ആയി കുറയ്ക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. ഇത്രമത്രമേ ഇക്കൊല്ലത്തെ വിതരണത്തിനുള്ളൂ.

2. VOTING OF DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

16-General Administration

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* Sir, I move for a grant of Rs. 4,19,629 under "16-General Administration". I request that the House may be pleased to vote this grant.

Mr. P Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Mr. President, Sir, I propose to oppose this grant. I oppose the motion made by the Chief Secretary.

Mr. President: You oppose the whole grant?

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Yes, Sir.

Mr. President: I should like to have the Advocate-General's opinion on the procedure whether discussion of this motion should take precedence over discussion on the cut motions of which notice has been given by several Hon'ble Members.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General):* Sir, now the question that arises for consideration is whether the motion for the omission of the whole grant should take precedence over the several cut motions that have been tabled. According to paragraph 150 (3) of the Legislative Council Manual 'No motion shall be made for the reduction of a grant as a whole, until all the motions for the omission or reduction of definite items within the grant have been discussed". A casual reading of this rule will indicate that it is only after the cut motions are discussed that

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a motion for the rejection or omission of the whole grant can be discussed. But I do not agree with that interpretation, because a current understanding of this rule will lead to the result that it only relates to cases of this nature. Suppose the entire grant is for Rs. 1,000 and that grant is composed of 10 items of Rs. 100 each. Now there may be a motion for the reduction of Rs. 500. In such an event, before putting the whole grant, discussion on the motion for the reduction of Rs. 500 should take place. Therefore the term "reduction of a grant as a whole" does not mean total omission of the grant. Or else, it will lead to this anomaly. If there is a motion for the omission of the grant as a whole and if we are to undertake the task of discussing all the cut motions, many of them token motions, relating to particular items, it will practically be a waste of time of the House, because after all these cut motions are discussed what will be the effect of out-voting the whole grant. Therefore, the most proper and intelligible interpretation to be put upon this rule, according to me is, when there is a motion for the omission of the total grant, that motion should be discussed first, for a speedy and intelligent transaction of the business of the House.

Rama Varmha Tamuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* Sir, I wish to speak a few words on this. Of course, the usual practice has been otherwise. In previous years when motions for the omission of the total grant have been tabled, the practice has been to put such motions at the last moment. That used to be the practice and that has been done at several times. I have been a member here for several years. I can say definitely that that has been the case in 1104, 1105 and so on.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* I wish to say this much, Sir. Now there is a motion for the total rejection of the demand. It is only when the House is agreeable to discuss the whole demand that cut motions which are in the nature of amendments to the motion moved by the Government Secretary could be moved in this House. Therefore, my submission is, the interpretation sought to be put by the learned Law Member is the correct interpretation to be put upon the procedure to be followed.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* Sir, when the Hon'ble Member says that he opposes me, he can oppose the motion only when it is put to vote.

Rao Bahadur T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* No, no. That is not correct.

Mr. President: The difficulty that arises is this. Only a limited time is allowed for the discussion of the grant. If we are to discuss the cut motions first, then the whole of the time will be or is likely to be taken up, unless Hon'ble Members who have given notice of the cut motions are a bit self sacrificing. The probability is that the whole of the time will be taken up by the discussion of the cut motions and no time will be left at all for the discussion of the motion to reject the grant as a whole. That is a difficulty which I see.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* So far as Government are concerned, it is immaterial. But, I just pointed out that the previous practice has been to put down such motions at the last moment.

Mr. President: It is really for the Hon'ble Members themselves to decide whether they wish to discuss the grant as a whole or whether they wish to discuss individual cut motions.

Rao Bahadur T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* It appears to me that this is what the Hon'ble Secretary means. There must have been a particular motion for the total omission in these years. There is no such motion now. In this particular case, if the motion is put down for discussion at the last moment, there will be no time for its discussion at all. In the instance pointed out by the Hon'ble Secretary, I feel, there must have been a motion for the total omission of the grant.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* Even without that, it used to be like that. Not, that it matters to the Government, whichever course is adopted.

Rao Bahadur T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* Sir, we are very anxious to have the discussion on Mr. Govinda Menon's motion immediately.

Mr. President: It seems to me that the advice given by the Advocate-General is sound and I propose to follow it. The discussion, therefore, on the grant will be on the grant as a whole.

***Mr. P. Govinda Menon** *(Ernakulam):* Mr. President, Sir, I oppose the motion and move that this grant be not made by this House.

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* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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It is my duty to explain why I requested the House to refuse this demand. We have seldom resorted to such a step. Therefore, unless I explain the meaning and implication of the demand made by the Hon'ble the Chief Secretary and my opposition to it, it may be thought that I am giving this House a counsel of extremism, and destruction, which really I am not doing.

Sir, what is the meaning of this House making this grant? It means that this House gives its vote of consent to the present Government, a Government which is only to a very meagre extent responsible to the Legislature. Refusing the grant means registering absence of such consent.

The straight and simple question before the House therefore is whether really we consent to the continuance of this Government by the permanent Civil servants window-dressed by two so-called popular ministers, who, even when they have the backing of this House have only the shadow of power and who, I believe, at present have no such backing. If the answer is that we do not really consent to this state of affairs, then this House certainly cannot vote for granting money for the running of this Government.

We have been asserting that it is time that full responsible government be granted to the politically conscious people of this advanced State. We have been demanding it in almost all the sittings of this House. Did we utter mere empty words or did we say things which we really meant? If the latter, we certainly cannot vote for the continuance of things which negative our demands.

On Monday, which was the opening day of this Session of the Council, the people of Cochin, irrespective of caste, creed and political affiliation, indicated in no unmistakable terms their dissatisfaction with the Constitutional status qug, their grim determination for full responsible Government. The call to observe Monday as "Full Responsible Government Day" was made by persons who have no authority to compel, who had no sanction of force behind them. Yet, what wonderful success was encated by the people on that day. Throughout Cochin, that day; the people observed peaceful, voluntary hartal in a disciplined manner. Shops and places of business were closed, factories and colleges emptied, and the people assumed a mood of contemplation about their political serfdom and their unbreakable determination to have their birthright of full responsible Government. Vast masses of men and women assembled in the several villages, towns and cities in numbers unprecedented and demanded immediate full responsible Government. Do we, their representatives in this House, intend to reflect their mood, interpret their desires, and register their demands in this House? If so, we certainly should not vote money for a Government which is not to their liking. Those alone in this House, if there be may such, who can ignore or forget the people can give their vote of consent to the present Government by granting money for the continuance of this administration.

It appears to me to be something in the nature of a tragedy that we have to fight for our rights. His Highness the present Maharaja marked his accession to the Throne by a liberal statement. Even the transfer of the subject of Education to popular control promised in that statement has not been implemented by this Government. And as for the system of Cabinet consultation between the Ministers and the Diwan, that still remains, I understand, a mere statement in paper. It is alike a standing condemnation of the Government and the Ministers that the system has not been introduced.

It was stated by you, Sir, last evening that you intend to implement every one of the statements made on the floor of this House.

Mr. President: I do not think, I said that. What I said was that I intend to implement the statements made by His Highness in His message and by myself. I never undertook to implement the statements made by the Hon'ble Members on the floor of this House (laughter).

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* That is what I meant, Sir.—the statements made by you on the floor of this House. I have no doubt about it.

But we do not believe that a transfer of all the departments to a Council of Ministers is not possible under the present constitution itself. There is no legal or constitutional impediment to such a course being adopted. If there is any, it is only such as can be removed in the course of a day. The real impediment, if any, can only be the absence of a will to part with power. An unequivocal declaration of full responsible Government, the setting up of a body acceptable to the people to frame a constitution on that basis with safeguards to allay the real fears of minorities and interim transfer of full powers of Government to popular representatives are what we demand at this stage. These are the very things proposed by statesmen elsewhere in India and no reason exists why the same course should not be adopted here.

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Last evening, Sir, the Hon'ble the Chief Secretary to Government advised us to compare conditions in Cochin to those elsewhere. I am prepared to take his advice. What is good and possible in British Indian Provinces is equally, if not more, so in Cochin. Let us not copy mistakes committed elsewhere; let us not set the reactionarism of other places as our model.

If only you are prepared to learn the leasons of history then. I venture to assert that the safety, Integrity and progress of this State lie in placing the responsibilities of administration on the shoulders of the people. That way lies the path of wisdom and statesmanship. Any other way will lead up to discontent, extremism, disorder.

In the interests of all concerned, I pray that the latter course may not be adopted. Grant us full responsible Government.

Sir, I oppose the demand and request the House to throw out the demand.

Rao Bahadur T. K. Nayar *(Pazhayannur):* Sir, I support the motion to oppose the grant.

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Sir, I also support the opposition.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health):* Sir, I wish to make a statement.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Supporting or opposing ?

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health) :* Please wait and see. Don't try to attack me like that.

Of-course my position and that of my party is rather difficult. We, I can assure you, are for full responsible government immediately. We are not in the least against it. But, at the same time I must express that it might not be possible for His Highness the Maharaja to grant us responsible government immediately for other reasons. I cannot imagine what those reasons are. But, I know from the trend of the events and the declarations made and the messages given that we are going to get it as quickly as possible. Permit me, Sir, and I have got the authority of His Highness also, and I wrote to the Leader of the Praja Mandal Party to that effect. I repeat it to you now. I wrote it to the Leader of the Praja Mandal Party and that on the authority of His Highness the Maharaja. I am not joking now (laughter). His Highness' intention is to give immediately full responsible government.

Mr. Puthur Achyuta Menon *(Kattur):* That has been declared long ago.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health):* And I requested the Leader of the Praja Mandal Party to revise the decision of abstension from the Council, and to hear the noble message of His Highness the Maharaja. Instead of that; the Leader of the Praja Mandal Party wanted to create a demonstration and not to hear the message of His Highness, that noble message.

A Voice: It is the public of Cochin who wanted the demonstration.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health):* I did not know that. My information was otherwise.

Mr. V. R. Krishnan Ezhuthassan *(Oorakam):* You are wrong.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health):* I am not wrong. In the circumstances prevailing I had to advise my party members that it is our bounden duty to attend the Council that day and hear that noble message of His Highness the Maharaja. It is on that ground that we attended the Council that day.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* We made no complaint that the Hon'ble Minister and his party members attended the Council. If you are harbouring under a misapprehension please clear it.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health) :* I am coming to that.

Therefore it is not right on our part to reject the budget entirely and throw it out. Because before full responsible Government is granted, law and order must be maintained, Government should be carried on and mob rule avoided. You have got serious responsibility to see that the Government is not placed in the hands of mobs.

Several voices: Oh! Ho!

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health) :* I am not afraid of this propaganda.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Nobody is also afraid, of the Minister.

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health) :* You wanted to create disaffection in the country.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Sir, the Hon'ble Minister is going into unparliementary regions in saying that in opposing this motion I am inciting the mobs. This is not the way in which the Minister should abuse the House. I can understand him supporting

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the demand moved by the Hon'ble Government Secretary. But why should he agitate when he cannot carry the rest of this House to his side?

Mr. Parambi Lonappen *(Minister for Public Health):* Why? By your demonstrations and motions you are misleading the public. You are creating an impression that the Government of Cochin is not for the people. You create an impression by your doings that the Government of Cochin is not carried on in the interest of the people. Therefore I should think that it is not proper for us to throw out the budget and to allow the administration to come to a stand still. My humble submission therefore is that myself and party members are for full responsible Government, but we do not see eye to eye with you in throwing out the budget.

*മിസ്റ്റർ പി. കെ. ഡീവർ: സർ, വളരെ പ്രധാനമായ ഈ ഒരു സംഗതിയിൽ ഞങ്ങളെപോലുള്ള ആളുകളുടെ നില ഞങ്ങൾ വോട്ടുചെയ്യുന്നതിനു മുമ്പായി വിശദമാക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നുന്നു. സർ, ഞാൻ ഒരു നോമിനേറ്റഡ് മെമ്പറാണു്. ഗവൺമെണ്ടിൽനിന്നു നോമിനേറ്റു ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള എന്നെപ്പോലെയുള്ള ചില മെമ്പറന്മാർ വേറെയുമുണ്ടു്. ഒരു കാര്യത്തിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വളരെ അഭിമാനമുണ്ടു്. അങ്ങയുടെ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ കൊച്ചിനിയമസഭയിൽ ഒരു ചരിത്രം സൃഷ്ടിക്കാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞുവെന്നുള്ളതു ശരിയാണു്. ഞങ്ങളുടെ പൂർവ്വികന്മാരുടെ കഥ നോക്കിയാൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ വരാൻ വഴിയില്ലാത്തതാണു്. അടുത്തകാലംവരെ ഈ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ ചിലവരുടെ അട്ടിപ്പേറായിരുന്നു. ഞങ്ങൾ അതുമാറ്റി. കാരണം, മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലേയും തിരുമനസ്സിലെ പ്രതിനിധിയായ അങ്ങയുടേയും അഭിലാഷപ്രകാരം, ഈ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ വഹിക്കുന്നവർ ആരായാലും അവർ ആത്മാർത്ഥതയോടുകൂടി സ്വാർത്ഥത തൊട്ടുതെറിക്കാതെ സേവനം ചെയ്യുന്നവർ ആയിരിക്കണമെന്നു തീരുമാനിച്ചതുപ്രകാരം, പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽനിന്നു തിഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ടവരാൻ സാധിക്കാത്ത ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഈ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾതന്നു. അതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു അളവറ്റ നന്ദിയുണ്ടു്. പക്ഷെ കൊച്ചിരാജ്യമൊട്ടാകെ, ഞങ്ങൾ ഏതെല്ലാം നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്നുവോ ആ മണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ ഏതെല്ലാം കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി വാദിക്കുന്നുവോ ആ കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങൾക്കിവിടെ പറയാതെ തരമില്ല. തിങ്കളാഴ്ച ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ വരാതെ ഇരുന്നതിനെകുറിച്ചു് മന്ത്രിപറഞ്ഞതു്; അതു മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ നേക്കുള്ള അവജ്ഞയാണു; അങ്ങനെപോലും ഭക്തി ഇല്ലായ്മയാണു എന്നു പറഞ്ഞതു, അനാവശ്യമാണു അതു ധിക്കാരമാണു് എന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നു. ഞങ്ങൾ രാജഭക്തന്മാരാണു്. ഞങ്ങളെ ആരും രാജഭക്തി പഠിപ്പിക്കാൻവരേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. രാജ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി എന്തുചെയ്യണമോ അതുചെയ്യുന്നവരാണു രാജഭക്തന്മാർ. ഞങ്ങൾക്കറിയാം മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലെ അഭിലാഷം. ഇവിടത്തെ പ്രജകൾക്കും ജനങ്ങൾക്കും സുഖവും ഐശ്വര്യവും വേണമെന്നാണു് തിരുമനസ്സിലെ അഭിലാഷം. അതു നിർവ്വഹിക്കാൻ എത്രത്യാഗവും സഹിച്ചു മനോഭാവമുള്ള ആളുകളാണു രാജഭക്തന്മാർ. എനിക്കു മന്ത്രിയോടു കൊല്ലക്കുടിയിൽ സൂചിവിൽക്കാൻ ഇങ്ങോട്ടു വരരുതെന്നുപറയേണ്ടതുണ്ടു്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങളെ വഴിതെറ്റിക്കാൻ സാധ്യമല്ല. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിക്കും സാധ്യമല്ല. എത്ര സ്വാധീനശക്തി ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും ജനകീയതത്ത്വത്തിനെതിരുനില്ക്കാൻ സാധ്യമാകയില്ല. പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായമാണു ഞങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായം. പ്രജാമണ്ഡലംമാത്രമല്ല ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങളെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്ന നേതാക്കന്മാരെല്ലാപേരും അതേറെറടുത്തു നടത്തുകയാണു ചെയ്തതു്. അതു ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായമനുസരിച്ചാണു്. ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിനെതിരായി ആർക്കും നീന്താൻ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ നീന്താൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നവർ മങ്ങിമരിച്ചുകൊള്ളും.

സർ, ഞാൻ ഒരു തൊഴിലാളി പ്രതിനിധിയണു്. ഈ തൊഴിലാളികൾ പറയുന്ന അവരുടെ ആഗ്രഹങ്ങൾ വകവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കാൻ വേണ്ടി ഈ നിമിഷത്തിൽ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം സ്ഥാപിച്ചേകഴിയൂ. എന്നു് അവരുടെ കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഇന്നു മന്ത്രിയുടെ കയ്യിൽ വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും മന്ത്രിയെ വകവെയ്ക്കാതെ അവരുടെ നേക്കുള്ള പോലീസിനേറയും എക്സൈസിനേറയും തോന്ന്യാസങ്ങൾ കാണുമ്പോൾ ഇന്നത്തെ രീതിയിലുള്ള മന്ത്രിമാരുടെ കയ്യിൽ അവരുടെ കാര്യങ്ങൾ സുരക്ഷിതമല്ലെന്നും അഥവാ ഇനി പനമ്പിള്ളി ഗോവിന്ദമേനോൻതന്നെ മന്ത്രി ആയി വന്നാലും പ്രയോജനമില്ലെന്നും അവർക്കു ബോദ്ധ്യമായി. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള മന്ത്രിമാരുടെ ആവശ്യം ഇവിടെ ഇല്ല. അവർക്കു പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം വേണം എന്നു മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിനെ അറിയിക്കാൻ അവർ ആഗ്രഹമുള്ളവരാണു്. ഞങ്ങളെപോലെതന്നെ അധഃകൃത പ്രതിനിധികളും അതിനു തയ്യാറുള്ളവരാണു്. ഞങ്ങൾ ഏ

*Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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തെല്ലാം താല്പര്യങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നവോ ആ താല്പര്യങ്ങളുടെ പരിരക്ഷയ്ക്കുവേണ്ടിയാണ്" അങ്ങു ഞങ്ങളുടെപേരുകൾ മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലെ സന്നിധിയിൽ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചതെന്നും അതനുസരിച്ചു ഞങ്ങൾ സ്വാർത്ഥികളല്ല എന്നു വിശ്വാസത്തോടുകൂടി ഞങ്ങളെ നിയമിച്ച അവസ്ഥയ്ക്കു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ അനുഗ്രഹങ്ങൾ നിവ്വഹിക്കുവാൻ ചുമതലപ്പെട്ടവരാണെന്നുമുള്ള ബോദ്ധ്യംകൊണ്ടു ഈ തിങ്കളാഴ്ച മന്ത്രി-മാരെ- ജനങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നു കിട്ടിയ അഭിപ്രായമനുസരിച്ചു ഞങ്ങളും അന്നു പങ്കെടുത്തു. ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായമനുസരിച്ചതെന്നെയാണു ഇപ്രധാനാഭ്യർത്ഥന തള്ളിക്കളയുന്നതിനും ഞങ്ങൾ ഇന്നു നിർബ്ബന്ധിതരായിരിക്കുന്നതു്. ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നതു് അടുത്ത മൂന്നുകൊല്ലംകഴിഞ്ഞാലും ഞങ്ങൾക്കിവിടെത്തന്നെ ഇരിക്കുവാൻ കഴിയുമോ എന്നുനോക്കാൻ വേണ്ടിയല്ല. ഞങ്ങൾ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നതു ഞങ്ങൾ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്ന താല്പര്യങ്ങൾ നിവ്വഹിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ പ്രാപ്തന്മാരാണൊ എന്നു നോക്കാനാണ്".

സർ, ഞങ്ങൾക്കു പൊതുജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങളെകുറിച്ചു നല്ലവണ്ണമറിയാം. ആ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ നിവ്വഹിക്കുന്നതിനു ഞങ്ങൾ ചുമതലപ്പെട്ടവരാണ്". അതു നാണ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമേനി ഞങ്ങളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളതു്". ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ പൊതുമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട ഇവിടെവരാൻ നിവൃത്തി ഇല്ലാത്തവരാണ്". ഞങ്ങൾ ഈ നിലയിൽ ഇവിടെ വിന്നിരിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ഞങ്ങൾ ജനങ്ങളുടെ താല്പര്യങ്ങൾ നിവ്വഹിക്കുന്നതിനു് പ്രാപ്തന്മാരല്ലെന്നു വരുത്താൽ പാടില്ല. ഇപ്രധാനാഭ്യർത്ഥന തള്ളിക്കളയാൻ ജനപ്രതിനിധികൾ തീരുമാനിച്ചു. ഞങ്ങളും അതനോടുകൂടി ചേരാൻ തീരുമാനിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു പറയാൻ അനുഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development)*: Sir, I wish to speak a few words on this motion.

Sir, now I am on my legs, lest my silence on this topic should be misinterpreted. I suppose last year about this time when a resolution was moved for responsible Government, I was the first to put it to the House that if responsible Government was not to be granted, the House should unanimously throw out the Budget. (Hear, Hear). I still stick on to that principle. I might request you, Sir, as well as other Hon'ble Members to give me a latitude in that it may be said that I find myself now in a certain fix, rather in a position where I have to resort myself to my individual capacity to be consistent with my old ideas.

But, no. Even without it I feel justified in the position that I take now while sticking on to the proposition that I laid down in the last Budget, Sir, it appears to me, if I remember correct, the statement that I made was that if His Highness, the then Maharaja, would not grant responsible government, the budget should be thrown out. Here, I find that His Highness, the present Maharaja, has been on the Gadi only for four months, within which period His Highness has in unmistakable terms given out that He was willing to give responsible government twice. To implement that, He has allowed a second Ministry and what is more, He has gone far ahead as evidenced by His Highness' message regarding the unification of Kerala, which by implication means that the unitary members will have the same status, which again implies complete responsible government.

But my point is not that, Sir. The point is this. Shall it or shall it not be consistent with one's own culture, with one's own sense of refinement, one's own sense of decency, to force His Highness to give responsible government, when especially His Highness tells us that He is willing to give responsible government and when in pursuance of that resolution and declaration of His Highness action is going on. To me it appears, Sir, that we should have given an opportunity in the name of good sense, in the name of good taste, in the name of refinement, in the name of loyalty, we should have given His Highness an opportunity to implement the declarations that He has made. Before that to go in for sabre-rattling, I for one could not find my way to agree with my Hon'ble friends sitting on the other side of the House. It is not because, Sir, I am any the less anxious this day for responsible government, but because, I feel that at this juncture, His Highness should be given an opportunity. I ask the Hon'ble Members one single question, is it not our duty to see that we create such a healthy atmosphere as to suggest His Highness that if His Highness is going to grant full responsible government, we are going to carry on the administration?

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam)*: We will carry on.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development)*: I am sorry, I cannot attach face value to that, knowing as I do you well. Well, Sir, I have seen here there is a scramble for office. What His Highness was pleased to grant as a boon, has turned out to be an apple of discord.

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I wonder unless we get conditions obtaining in Sind and other places of creating as many Ministries as there are persons on the run for it, whether there will be any possibility of successful administration.

Mr. V. R. Krishnan Ezhuthassan *(Oorakam):* You are mistaken.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* Here every person wants to become a Minister.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* It is one of the privileges of representative government that Members can aspire to become Ministers.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* Sometimes foolish.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* Those in office can say so, that if others come in, there will be complete disorder.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* No, Sir, so far as I am concerned, I give the challenge to at least those seven gentlemen who had gone out from my Party, to say that. I give a challenge to them to say whether I had not put it to them that I was prepared to forego my right in the matter of Ministry in the larger interests, if things could be so arranged.

Mr. V. R. Krishnan Ezhuthassan *(Oorakam):* Has anybody a right?

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* Because I happened to be the Deputy Leader in spite of my submission to the Party that I need not be elected as the Deputy Leader as I felt I was not qualified for it.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam):* The present motion has nothing to do with the domestic affairs of your Party.

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Nor have the seven members here anything against Mr. Balakrishna Menon being the Minister.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* I am sure Rao Sahib Ayyappan would bear with me in what I have said. So, it is not my being in office, that I say so. This is only the 75th day of my office and I wonder what complaint could there be against me.

Mr. V. R. Krishnan Ezhuthassan *(Oorakam):* Counting days.

Mr. K. Balakrishna Menon *(Minister for Development):* Let that be so, I don't mind. Sir, we have got a duty for our own good to give His Highness an opportunity and prove to Him that we are ready and willing to carry on the administration if necessary. We should not give a loop-hole by party factions for His Highness to doubt how He could grant responsible government. I feel like that; and in this particular case, I propose to oppose the motion moved by the Hon'ble Leader of the Prajamandal. I have nothing more to say.

*__Mr. M. Sivarama Menon__ *(Advocate-General):* Sir, it is not the Law Member in me that induces me to rise up on this occasion. I saw the light of day as many of the Hon'ble Members for the first time in Cochin. That means that I am born in Cochin just like many of my Hon'ble friends sitting here. It is only that feeling in me that actuates me beyond measure to rise up on this occasion in spite of the fact that I know what Party discipline means. But I think that I must discharge my duty as a Cochinite in saying a few words to my Hon'ble friends. Now, Sir, here is a case where, it has been news to me, that on the authority of the authority who can grant immediate responsible Government, the Hon'ble Minister has got information that that authority is prepared to grant full responsible Government, but that it may not be done so immediately. The words have to be watched, the trend of events have to be taken note of. It was said by the Hon'ble leader of the Prajamandal Party that even under the present constitution, immediate self-government can be given. In one sense it is perfectly true. But if you consider the nature of the announcement made at the Installation Durbar in which it is clear that Cabinet responsibility is sought to be introduced into our constitution, and if that is the aim, what I wish to bring to the notice of the Leader of the Prajamandal Party is that some of the sections in the Government of Cochin Act as they stand now cast only individual responsibility upon the Ministers. For instance, if a motion to throw out the Ministry as a whole is to be brought, it has to be brought in the individual names of the Ministers, because if the grounds alleged are with regard to particular departments, the individual Ministers are held responsible for the departments concerned. The affairs of Cochin are now to be administered under the recently amended Government of Cochin Act by His Highness on the advice tendered by the Minister with regard to the particular Department. But the system obtaining in British Constitution is something entirely different. There, one Minister cannot by himself say. "I am not to be blamed, I have done the right thing" because there the nature of the constitution is such that the entire Ministry goes, and that is collective joint responsibility. The effect of the announcement made at the Installation is that a system

*Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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of Cabinet responsibility is sought to be introduced in the Cochin Constitution and if that is so, the Hon'ble Leader will appreciate that some amendments to the Government of Cochin Act are necessary. And in an Indian State—we are all subjects of an Indian State—we are all well aware that there are certain considerations which ought to weigh with the subjects as against the Ruler who is prepared to do and is doing, on the authority of the Minister, everything to satisfy the people's aspirations. If that is so, in the face of that authoritative pronouncement my humble question is, whether it is just, whether it is proper, whether it is wise whether it is sagacious, on our part as subjects of Cochin State to accuse that Government by throwing out the whole grant relating to the General Administration. Look at the case of other Indian States in India! Can you find a single Indian State where by a no-confidence motion a Minister is thrown out. The Minister is an integral part of the executive administration of the State. In the twinkling of an eye, within the interval of ten days, you can over-throw any Minister who comes into office. Imagine have you not eyes to look around? Can you not see? Even recently there was an announcement that in Travancore they are going to have an irremovable executive. Is there a second Chamber in Cochin, I ask? Is there any Indian State where the people have been given such a large measure of power as in Cochin State, comparatively? With all these before your mind, you are going to throw out the allotment for General Administration. As I told it is the interest of Cochin, the interest of all of you, in the way in which I feel about this matter, that compels me to rise up and not the Law Member in me. And if you look around you will find that comparatively you are in a higher plane, you are occupying a very enviable position. You are comparing Cochin with the British Indian Provinces and British Indian Provinces compare themselves with Britain. That is ordinary human nature. But there is a method even in madness *(Hear, hear)*. You must understand that immethodical attempt to wreck a thing would leave a sting in the mind of the Rulers, which our Rulers have never deserved of I am referring to the Ruler because reference has been made many times to His announcement. You must all think, you must all search in your hearts, whether we are, as a matter of fact, on the high-road for full responsible Government and whether we are being pushed on to that high-road on the ground that Cochin is fit for self-government even though there would be certain impediments. Even if you are not going to be convinced, it is my duty to say this. What I say is, the Hon'ble Minister has made the open declaration and you can hold him responsible. There has been no occasion to doubt his statement and I do not for a moment think that the Hon'ble Minister would ever have made such a statement unless and until he was backed up by unambiguous, unadulterated supreme authority. I never doubt it for a moment. If that is so, what is it that you are going to do? You intend to throw out the budget for General Administration. What reflection is it upon the Government of Cochin? Are you really mindful of the achievements of this Government? Are you really mindful of the proud progress that this little State has made even though we have no right to individual existence on account of the small extent of the State and our small revenue. That apart. We are entering upon a big scheme. We are on the threshold of a new ideal. We are going to have a sort of a Kerala Federation in spite of opposition and we are prepared to achieve it with the people's desire. At such a time, what is it that you are going to do? Is there no human nature in you, my friends? Are you so hard-hearted, I ask? Kindness, constitutional kindness, arises from human hearts, just as parental kindness arises from human hearts. I make this appeal to the feeling of man in you, the human feeling in you, the patriotic feeling in you. Consider before you take this step. That is a very serious subject. Suppose, you throw out the budget of some other department, it may not have such a serious reflection upon the prestige or the standing of the Government of Cochin. Do you mean to say that the throwing out of the General Administration budget will ever be an ornament. I believe that even though in the height of political tension or feeling or in the height of a political agitation for the demand of full responsible Government, reason may sometimes guide you. It may be impossible for some of my Hon'ble friends on the other side not to fall in line with a feeling, but still I would request one and all of you to retrace your steps upon the ground that the Hon'ble Minister has made a very authoritative statement which you have no reason to doubt. Do you feel that all your agitations in respect of full responsible Government have not attracted the attention of the Government? You can never say that. Do you mean to say that your demonstration in that behalf on the first day of the sitting of this Council has not brought this question to the attention of the Government? It is very clear that we had a very strong demonstration on front of this Hall, in front of the public offices in Cochin State, throughout Cochin State there has been awakening. And yet after having achieved such an effect and after knowing fully well that we are going immediately to get full responsible Government, you are adopting this attitude.

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Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Is it the first time that the Cochin Legislative Council throws out the budget?

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General):* No.

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* So does it show that all the previous Maharajas were unsympathetic?

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General):* No. But there is absolutely no comparison with those days when in the early stages of the constitution the budget was thrown out and the House that is today discussing this problem. What mighty changes have occurred to Cochin in the meanwhile and what mighty changes have been announced and promissed to you. On that day it might be an ultimate progressive realisation of self-Government after two centuries, but are you at that stage today? You have passed so many posts, you are about to reach the real goal-post. There are only one or two steps more. It may be a question of a few days or a few months. The Diwan-President has announced in his capacity of Diwan that even before the sitting of this Council is over he will implement t he proposal and that he will be in a position to announce the steps to be taken to amend the Government of Cochin Act. If like a little child who wants a toy immediately, then and there, you begin to insist upon self-Government today or else say, we will throw out this budget, I say the nation's progress is not advanced, nor the lives of ourselves. Of course, there is a limit to waiting. Now you are in a very serious, serene atmosphere, a situation of which you can be proud of as representatives of the people. Therefore, I say that it will not be sagacious, it will not be wise, it will not be quite proper to throw out the budget, to stick on to this attitude in the face of the authoritative pronouncement made by the Hon'ble the Minister with complete authority. And if these words have fallen in vain, I shall only accuse the Party discipline that is of course necessary over the progress of any political party. What I say is we are not having here an alien Government. We are fighting here an internecine struggle and in that struggle if you are vouchsafed the thing that you want, I ask, where is the necessity for this being thrown out? Therefore, I honestly feel—I am not saying this just somehow to manage the affairs of the Treasury Bench—for my own part, I feel that you have been a bit hasty today. I would not have stated all these and you would not have done it if you had been a bit patient. It would have been different if there was no announcement, and regard being had to history you would have been justified in doing as you have done today. But things have taken a different turn, tables have been turned. With these things in my mind I would appeal to the Hon'ble Members not to throw away the budget on the firm assurance made authoritatively that full responsible Government is practically within your actual grip, though your fingers have not touched it.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* Sir, When I heard yesterday in the lobbies that there was a move to throw out the General Administration Budget, I could not really believe myself. This Session has been a very historic meeting for more reasons than one. Many important constitutional changes have been announced, both in the message from His Highness as well as in the speech from the Chair. The full implications of these announcements are not yet known to any one of us. Government have willingly announced that they will take very quick steps to implement the statements that they have deliberately made. The Diwan-President made the announcement yesterday evening. Following these things, without knowing what exactly the Government are going to do what is the fun, I think, of throwing out the General Administration Budget on the ground, on the specious ground, I may say, of want of responsible Government. And is that a request which any Government, however willing it be to grant it, can do just across the table like that? Where is the time given to the Government to hear and to respond to this request? Within a short period of five or ten minutes, responsible Government is to be placed on the table, if not, the whole budget is to be thrown out.

Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur-):* You had 20 long years.

Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E. *(Chief Secretary to Government):* This is not at all a responsible way of acting on the part of the opposition. I regret very much that it has to be stated. I heard with great admiration the very moderate tone in which the Leader of the Prajamandal Party had framed his speech in the morning. I was very much impressed by the intentionally moderate tone I noted that he had used in several parts of his speech; but the action that he has advocated is something of the very opposite kind. You have been comparing Cochin State to Madras Province or any other British Province. That is not right. Our political history has been absolutely different from that of any British Province. We cannot do things

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as British Provinces are able to do. We have not had the same experiences as they had. We have not gone through the same administrations as they have had to go through. Therefore it is not correct historically or administratively is it correct to compare things with British Indian Provinces ? I would challenge any Hon'ble Member on the other side to compare the affairs in Cochin State with those in any other Indian State. Indian States and Provinces have had their own history. They had their own courses of development and that is the reason why we cannot compare the affairs in an Indian State completely with the affairs in British Provinces. There is no use of saying that in British Provinces things are like that, therefore why not introduce them straightaway in an Indian State. When did the Provinces begin to have their representative institutions ? When did we begin them ? Always it requires time for things to move and nobody can expect that things could be done overnight. And especially the events and the various announcements that the Government have made from time to time in the last four months belies any necessity for a move on this part; if it is only just having a demonstration, so to say, well, we cannot object to it; but if this is a move which the Government are expected to answer in rational terms, that is a situation which it is impossible to comply with, because of the nature of the demand and the time within which it is made and the way in which it is to be met. No Government can meet a demand of this kind moved and pressed in the manner in which it is sought to be done this morning. Therefore, I regret that with the best of intentions, this Government cannot but state that this is a move which is so unnecessary, uncalled for, and really not meeting the situation which we have in hand.

Demand put and declard carried

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Ernakulam)*: Poll, Sir.

Ayes

1.	Mrs. T. Francis	13.	Messrs. Parambi Lonappen
2.	Messrs. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan	14.	K. Balakrishna Menon
3.	A. Eachara Menon	15.	Rama Varmha Tampuran
4.	T. K. L. Kunjuvareed	16.	Rao Sahib A. Madhava Prabhu
5.	P. A. Muhamad Ashrof	17.	V. K. Aravindaksha Menon
6.	Jos K. Verghese	18.	Rao Sahib P. V. Raphael
7.	Dr. S. S. Rao	19.	M. Sivarama Menon
8.	P. E. Warne	20.	B. V. K. Menon
9.	S. S. Koder	21.	Rao Sahib C. J. Mathew
10.	M. O. Thomakkutty	22.	P. Sankaran Nambiar
11.	P. V. Sebastian	23.	Rao Sahib M. M. Paul
12.	K. A. Raghavan	24.	S. Venkiteswaran

Noes

1.	Mrs. K. M. R. Menon	16.	Messrs. C. R. Iyyunni
2.	Messrs. P. K. Dewer	17.	Choudhury G. S. Dhara Singh
3.	K. I. Velayudhan	18.	C. S. Panicker
4.	K. T. Achuthan	19.	P. Mani
5.	K. S. Panicker	20.	P. T. Jacob
6.	K. Kochukuttan	21.	Rao Bahadur T. K. Nayar
7.	K. K. Kannan	22.	L. M. Pylee
8.	Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan	23.	S. P. Luiz
9.	P. Govinda Menon	24.	K. R. Ramakrishnan
10.	P. Achyuta Menon	25.	M. K. Verghese
11.	V. R. Krishnan Ezhuthassan	26.	P. I. Ipe
12.	P. K. Paul	27.	P. Narayana Menon
13.	P. Sankara Menon	28.	K. Natarajan Chettiar
14.	M. I. Paul	29.	R. S. Thevanna Gounder
15.	M. K. Raja	30.	K. H. Sulaiman

Demand put and lost, 24 voting for and 30 against.

11. General Administration (Cranganur)

• **Rama Varmha Tampuran, M.B.E.** *(Chief Secretary to Government)*: Sir, I move for an allotment of Rs. 3,173 under 11 General Administration—Cranganur.

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